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ABSTRACT

The basic question underlying the research reported in this paper is: To what extent does a difference between a child's cultural background and that of his teacher and his scholastic milieu affect his classroom attitude and performance? Questions arising from this basic one are: (1) What features of a child's cultural background directly or indirectly affect his behavior in the classroom? (2) What is the affect of cultural differences (a) between the teacher and the child? (b) on the teacher's perception of the child? (c) on the child's perception of the teacher and of the learning process and himself? (3) How effective are the usual techniques of evaluation used by teachers in measuring learning capacity and skill, cross culturally? The report focuses on the education of Afro-American children in the Berkeley (California) Public Schools, but the author hopes that the study will be useful in isolating some of the "universals" of cultural contact in the classroom. Individual sections (1) present an historical outline of black culture and education in the public schools; (2) discuss black culture and social interaction in the classroom; (3) discuss the performances of teachers whose classrooms were visited; (4) present transcriptions of taped instances of actual teacher-pupil interaction. The author stresses the preliminary nature of this work. (Author/FWB)

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CULTURE AND SOCIAL INTERACTION IN THE CLASSROOM:

An Ethnographic Report

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A Necessary Word of Caution

As you read this report, we ask you to bear in mind the following considerations:

1) The purpose of this report is to stimulate research in a critical area of educational concern (cross-cultural communication), not to issue conclusive findings. We hope that this brief report will provide increased insight into the nature of the problems involved in cross-cultural communication in the classroom setting. But we feel that it is necessary to give certain precautions concerning the report:

a) The report is based on a select and limited amount of literary and field material, compiled in an equally limited amount of time. The hypotheses arise more from the intuitive impressions of one who has undergone the black public school experience than from scholarly research.

b) The 'findings' are 'preliminary hypotheses' and not conclusions, or even theories. The report should therefore be read critically, with an eye towards <u>further verification through observation in natural settings.</u>

2) We are therefore less interested in deseminating findings than in bringing some critical issues to the attention of those with the skill and an interest in resolving them.

The author sincerely hopes that the paper will be read with the above precautions in mind. We hope eventually to see more complete studies on similar issues arise. Indeed, it is our earnest hope that the eventual result of this research will not be merely a condemnation or critique of the current short-comings of cross-cultural communication in the schools, but some constructive experimental efforts to improve them for the benefit of all concerned.

Culture and Social Interaction in the Classroom

An Ethnographic Report*

by Louisa Lewis

Introduction

At its most fundamental level, the purpose of this paper will be to examine the effects of culture contact and setting on the classroom interaction. In order to do so, we have chosen to focus upon the cultural factors affecting the education of Afro-American children in the Berkeley Public Schools. It is our hope that in focusing upon this group, we will be able to isolate some of the 'universals' of cultural contact in the classroom. For despite gross divergencies in social circumstances and cultural heritages, in the course of our research we have found similar complaints concerning the educational system voiced by Chicanos, Orientals, and American Indians. Susan Phillips, for example, in her work with North American Indians, outlines several aspects of classroom interaction within this group which closely parallel our own findings (Phillips, 1969).

In undertaking this research, we were guided by one basic question from which several others arose: To what extent does a difference between a child's cultural background and that of his teacher and his scholastic milieu affect his classroom attitude and performance?

a) What features of a child's cultural background directly or indirectly affect his behavior in the classroom?

b) What is the effect of cultural differences

   1) between the teacher and the child?

   2) on the teacher's perception of the child?

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* The present paper reports on work carried on in part under a grant from the University of California Urban Crisis Program. Field work and analysis were directed by John J. Gumperz who also participated in some of the classroom observations. Some of the results were reported in Gumperz, 1970. The review of the literature in the first section of the paper relies heavily on the work of Paul Melmed, whose study was done simultaneously with the present one.

3) on the child's perception of the teacher and of the learning process and himself?

c) How effective are the usual techniques of evaluation used by teachers in measuring learning capacity and skill, cross-culturally?

In seeking answers to these fundamental questions concerning cultural contact and education with respect to Afro- and Native-Americans, we relied both upon a growing body of anthropological and education-oriented literature and upon direct field observations. For reasons of greater personal familiarity and more readily abundant information, our focus was upon the former group.

We ask as well that the reader bear in mind that these are exploratory researches, intended to suggest areas concerning cultural differences and education which might be explored in the hopes of improving educational techniques in culture-contact situations. Our 'findings' are therefore to be considered not as theories but as hypotheses which may be modified or substantiated in further research by ourselves or others concerned with improving the education of minority groups in this country.

Historical Outline of Black Culture and Education in the Public Schools

In our attempt to study the significance of cultural factors for the black child in the classroom setting, we have relied both upon literature relevant to the subject and direct field observation. But in order to put our researches into a proper historical and theoretical framework, we will attempt first to give a necessarily brief consideration of the manner in which black culture and education has been dealt with in the public schools in the past. We will include in this historical outline of recent trends some of the theories appropriate to each period.

The final sector of this part of the paper attempts to correlate past and present theories with the hypothesis which resulted from our field observations.

In taking a backward glance at both the "official" (academic) and "layman" (popular) views of black culture in the past decade, one may say it has passed through three basic stages. The first is the "No Culture" phase, expounded by, among others, the noted black sociologist Frazier in his Black Bourgeoisie, and by the assimilation/integration-oriented civil rights movement. This was followed by a "Pathological Culture" phase, particularly favored by liberal, sympathetic, but culturally biased white middle-class sociologists and particularly specialists in "abnormal psychology." Before this phase died out, it was opposed by a "Black is Beautiful" cultural stage which was authored and forwarded by culturally conscious blacks themselves.

The first stage was characterized by a vigorous denial of the existence of any distinctly black culture; "cultural difference" was equated among some members of both black and white communities with cultural or even racial inferiority. In the second phase black culture was regarded as a somewhat unfortunate debris of slavery, poverty, and social rejection. It was seen as a sort of "sickness" which was, however, not incurable if caught in time by sociologists and psychologists. Black people were therefore to be regarded no longer as genetically handicapped but rather culturally handicapped, or "culturally deprived." The "Black is Beautiful" view of black culture represented a conscious effort to revive a sense of pride in the unique heritage of Afro-Americans, as well as an attempt to use this awareness politically.

In the field of education these three stages were accompanied by corresponding educational techniques and attitudes. For the "No Culture" stage, a total lack of cultural accommodation was favored in the name of the "All (White) American Melting Pot." The second phase of considering black culture as "pathological" was dealt with by "correctional" or "compensatory" educational techniques. The Head Start, Upward Bound, and other such "curative" measures were applied to the black children who were products of

this Afro-American heritage. With the fallacious concept of cultural deprivation as its guide, "compensatory" projects such as Head Start (which hardly even provided the youngsters with a comparable introduction) were instituted. These programs were somehow intended to divest black youngsters of their "deprived" heritage and replace it with a more "enlightened" middle-class norm which, ironically, was becoming the focus of extensive attacks by disenchanted members of white America (the "hippies," for example). When black children proved resistant to these extensive efforts at "cultural brainwashing," they were labeled as "verbally" and "cognitively" deprived by educators and sociologists. The latter then proceeded to explain how inadequacies in black language, family structure patterns, and other cultural elements were responsible for their lack of adjustment to the "scholastic" environment. But as linguist William Labov puts it,

> Operation Headstart is designed to repair the child, rather than the school; to the extent that it is based upon this inverted logic, it is bound to fail....

He further notes that

> As Operation Headstart fails, the interpretation which we receive will be from the same educational psychologist who designed the program. The fault will be found not in the data, the theory, nor in the methods used, but rather in the children who failed to respond to the opportunities offered to them (Labov, 1969, p. 72).

In the linguistic and educational fields, studies directed by Bereiter and Englemen (1966), Jensen (1967), Hess and Shipman (1965) and others went to great length to demonstrate and explain the supposed verbal and cognitive deficiencies in black children which resulted from their "deprived" culture and environment. Thus more sophisticated terms such as "cognitive deprivation" and "verbal deprivation" replaced the old myths of racial inferiority with all but a few die-hards such as the now well-known Authur Jensen and his adherents.

More recently it has become popular, due partly to the pressure of black political activism, to accept, if grudgingly, that black culture was a valid cultural medium which, to use popular jargon, was a "hang-up" in the classroom setting. Psychologist Joan Baratz, for example, feels that the differences between white and black English present "an almost insurmountable obstacle" to reading success (Baratz, 1969, as quoted in Melmed, 1970, p. 3). Other authors, such as Corbin and Crosby (1965), have stated even more explicitly that the black child "lacks not only a wide variety of experiences, but also a vocabulary with which to describe those experiences he has had." (Corbin and Crosby, 1965, as quoted in Melmed, 1970, p. 5). Arthur Jensen argues that children of lower-class black families are not encouraged by their parents to use language creatively (Jensen, 1968). Hess and Shipman (1968) state that black children are exposed to fewer grammatical and extended sentences from their mothers than children of white middle-class families. Bernstein (1961) suggests that an authority-oriented family structure in lower-class families limits the extent to which parents verbally explore the emotions and motives guiding their actions and those of others toward their children. Lower-class children therefore abandon their inquisitive queries, he claims. Bernstein goes on to conclude that the lower-class child there lacks an adult model for describing experiences or thoughts. Jensen (1968), who takes the most extreme position, cites numerous experimental sources which purportedly demonstrate that the speech of lower-class black children is a deterrent to cognitive development. He argues that although the evidence is not yet conclusive, it is sufficiently strong to warrant creating scholastic programs designed to accommodate for this supposed deficit.

In considering the literature which concerns itself with black culture and education, we see a great deal of stress placed upon reading skill. But until recently, there was all but unanimous agreement with Labov (1969) that slight systematic differences between Standard (white middle-class)

English and Black English phonology "can lead to reading problems and problems of being understood." (Melmed, 1970, p. 8). This view is also found, in varying degrees, in McDavid (1969), Fasold and Shuy, (1969), and Johnson (1969).

Less popularly, Lenneberg (1967) has objected to the popular notion that environmental or cultural factors can handicap a child's linguistic acquisition and cognitive ability. In his study of Austrian, British and American school children, he found that nine out of ten have learned to "name objects in the home, fair intelligibility, comprehension of spoken instruction, spontaneous utterances of complex sentences, spontaneity in oral communication" by the age of 39 months (Melmed, 1970, p. 7). Lenneberg writes consequently,

> There seems to be no relation between progress in language acquisition and culturally determined aspects of language. Environment does not affect onset of certain speech and language capabilities. Therefore, speech and language is accounted for by assuming maturational changes rather than by special training procedures in the child's surroundings. (Lenneberg, 1967, as quoted in Melmed, 1970, p. 7)

Further, Claudia Kernan (1969) has inferred from her ethnographic research on black verbal behavior that "dialect is of little significance to learning and does not pose serious problems of comprehension for speakers of black English." She asserts emphatically that

> It is the unhesitating opinion of this writer that, whatever difficulty some BE [Black English] speakers exhibit in producing SE [Standard English] variants, there is not a corresponding difficulty in comprehending SE. (Kernan, 1969, p. 145.)

In substantiation of Kernan's research, Henrie (1969) has written (though cautiously) that "young Negro children of the ghetto command much more SE [Standard English] than has usually been acknowledged, and that

their language seems to be normally developed and adequate for expression." (Henrie, 1969, pp. 90-91).

In looking at these differing viewpoints of the effects of cultural contact between blacks and whites in the classroom setting, one notices one fundamental similarity. With the exception of Labov's (1969) work and some of the more recent work by Bernstein (1969), all of these theories focus upon the child's culture and capabilities rather than on the school or teaching techniques and attitudes involved. Labov's reversed focus bears examining, because his premises are akin to the hypotheses which have guided our field research. Labov, basing himself on his own detailed ethnographic work and on his analyses of tape-recorded actual encounters, contends that:

1) It is the educational system and not the children who are responsible for this (seeming) scholastic failture: "The myth of verbal deprivation is particularly dangerous," writes Labov, "because it diverts the attention from the real defects of our educational system to imaginary defects of the child." (Labov, 1969, p. 66)

2) Speakers of Black English are not verbally deprived, but often the culturally-conditioned set-up of the tests which measure verbal ability is inhibiting, expecially to children unaccustomed to relating to white adults. For, in Labov's words,

> the power relationships in a one-to-one confrontation between adult and child are too asymmetrical. This does not mean that some Negro children will not talk a great deal when alone with an adult....It means that the social situation is the most powerful determinant of verbal behavior and that an adult must enter into the right social relation with a child if he wants to find out what a child can do. (Labov, 1969, p.)

Paul Melmed's (1970) recent dissertation for the first time demonstrates that there is no relation between dialect pronunciation and ability to read; it further disproves the notion of language deficit.

3) The black child has a highly developed set of verbal skills which the classroom does not tap, and therefore "We see no connection between verbal skill at the speech events characteristic of the street culture and success in the schoolroom." (Labov, 1969, p.)

4) Standard English is not intrinsically necessary to the production of logical and complex ideas, and when misused by middle-class speakers it can become a verbose hindrance to communication. "Is it not simply an elaborated style, rather than a superior code or system?" Labov queries.

Labov therefore concludes that

> Before we impose middle-class verbal style on children from other cultural groups, we should find out how much of this is useful for the main work of analyzing and generalizing, and how much is merely stylistic or even dysfunctional. (Labov, 1969, p.)

In light of the past and present views on the manner in which various elements of black culture interact with the white middle-class setting of the public schools, we will now attempt to examine some of our field observations. Before doing so, however, it may be useful to discuss briefly our field techniques.

Field Techniques

Our field methods consisted basically of making, at the outset, a few exploratory visits to Berkeley Public School classrooms. On the first visit we merely observed at a distance of one to several feet the teacher-child interaction. Following these initial visits we discussed and analyzed this interaction. We then proceeded, when the teacher was cooperative, to set up a tape recorder in the vicinity of a pupil-teacher interaction. The conversations were analyzed using methods similar to those described in Gumperz and Hernandez (1969). We also found it fruitful to observe the teacher-pupil interaction during the recording, taking notes where possible.

In this way, the nuances and non-verbal aspects of the teacher-pupil encounter could be noted.

In addition to observing in seven Berkeley Public School classrooms for varying lengths of time, we worked with a group of black girls aged 9-11 years in Richmond, California, on Friday afternoons. When relevant, examples and observations from this experience and from the researchers' personal experiences as black pupils will be cited. In all cases, names of schools and teachers are excluded in order to protect the privacy of those whose cooperation made this study possible.

Black Culture and Social Interaction in the Classroom

The first classroom we visited was a second grade in an "integrated" "hill" school. The teacher whom we will call Miss A. was a reserved but pleasant woman in her early twenties. She spoke of her own immigrant origins, her trouble with English and her consequent understanding of the problems involved in dealing with a second-language situation, and of her being discriminated against on the basis of ethnic origins. After a brief talk with her, we watched her interact with her two reading groups, the "fast" and the "slow." The class had a total of approximately fifteen students, three of which were in the "slow" group and thirteen in the "fast" group. The "slow" group consisted of two black pupils (both boys) and one younger white boy who reportedly had a speech defect and who did not appear in the days during which we observed. Miss A. deals with the "slow" group first. Her method is straight phonetics. She has a series of cards with small and capital letters of the alphabet printed on them. The children were asked to recall all of the sounds which any one letter can symbolize. For example, they are asked to tell her that 'A' can sound like ā (as in play), ă (as in apple), ä (as in fa), etc. Her manner is formal, dogmatic, and distantly polite. They go through a series of cards, deciphering the various sounds. She then spells out words on the board (can, man, ran, etc.), asking them

to sound them out. The boys are cooperative, and even seem somewhat engrossed in the work. They are then asked to supply words which rhyme with a given word, such as "cat." The first little boy, whom we will call John, finds the answers more quickly than the second, whom we will call Joe. Joe is bursting to speak, when Miss A. curtly reminds him that it is John's turn. They turned shortly thereafter to work on a reading notebook. The children asked questions about the pictures, and what the people in them were doing. They were reminded that they should be working quietly to themselves at that time. Afterwards, they would read aloud. In the notebook a smiling, white-featured man beamed, "I am a man." "Can you read that, Joe?", Miss A. inquires. The child glances at the picture and after a moment replies, "He is a man." Miss A. then proceeds to take Joe, phonetically, through the first half of the sentence, thinking he has misread it. Joe looks on perplexed and bewildered, along with John, who realizes that he has already understood the phrase and was conveying its meaning, not its words. However he restlessly complies with the task. Upon completion, he and John are sent to their seats, and the "fast" group, comprised of the other thirteen white members of the class, are called upon.

Miss A.'s teaching style changes somewhat in working with the "fast" group. While her manner was still reserved and formal, she was more open to volunteered information and allowed the students to digress momentarily about a shopping excursion which a picture in the book brought to mind. The students of the "fast" group were told to read silently. However, there was much unchecked answer-trading and side-conversing. The two boys of the "slow" group looked distractedly at the "fast" group to see what all the whispering was about. They were reminded to concentrate on their work. At one point, the black boys began working together, and their voices were raised in discussing some point. They were reminded to be quiet and work separately. In watching the "fast" group in operation, we observed that the children all appeared to be reading at the same level

of comprehension because an unknown word would be sounded out by one of the faster readers, and the others would either hear this oral operation or confer outright to decipher the printed page. When asked to read aloud and alone, however, there were noticeable differences in facility.

We were told at a later date by one of the other members of the class that Joe and John had begun to throw rocks at the other children at recess.

When we asked Miss A. on what basis she decided that these two black children belonged in a "slow" reading group, she informed us that they came from 'hon-literate backgrounds," but that she was confident that with special help they could catch up with the other youngsters of her first-grade class. She did not mention formal test scores.

In analyzing Miss A.'s interaction with her black pupils, and her white ones by contrast, some of the following factors were observed:

1) The teacher's formal and detached air distinctly reminded one of the researchers of a social worker she had been forced to interact with in her childhood. Because she had volunteered information to this seemingly courteous woman, she remembers being sternly reprimanded and warned to always reply, "Ask my mother!" to thwart any indiscreet inquiries by such people. If such associations existed in the minds of either Joe or John, it is probable that they would be hesitant to respond or volunteer information in this setting. These associations of a formal, detached air with such threatening "community agents" as policemen, curt nurses, and insistent bill-collectors, may influence their response to teachers with a similar attitude.

2) Even if one assumed that the responses of Joe and John were not colored by the associations mentioned above, the response of the teacher herself to any spontaneous or voluntary information was to remind the children of their assigned work. Such "irrelevant" straying from the subject is a sign of just that curiosity which is supposedly killed in the black home (according to the authors cited above). However, the teacher's response discourages this thirst for knowledge which education is intended to foster.

3) The two black children are not permitted to work as a team, but each was allowed "his turn." William Labov (1968), in his extensive study of black peer-group interaction patterns in New York, found that black children live in a predominantly peer-group-oriented social milieu. This peer-group orientation arises in part probably from such current socio-economic factors as extended family patterns and working or absentee parents. However, this tendency to frequent one's age-mates rather than one's elders is a well known feature of many traditional African societies where age-grades and sets are the primary units for social interaction, and a great deal of deference to elders and members of higher age grades is maintained. Thus, whereas familial relationships in middle-class families would generally tend to be hierarchical or parent-child oriented, lower-class black familial relations would tend to be laterally or peer-group directed. Children who were acculturated in the latter milieu would probably tend to perform more effectively in groups rather than individually or competitively.

4) Miss A.'s obviously low expectations for the children were manifest even in the manner in which her questions were phrased: "Can you read that?" not "Would you read that?", she inquires. When the child successfully decodes, understands, and summarizes the sentence for her in the time she expected him to read it, her low expectations prompt her to conclude that he has made a phonetic error, and she mechanically takes him through the tedious phonetic process again, almost penalizing his speed. While at this stage Joe is merely bewildered by the necessity of reviewing words he understood, he may eventually begin to sense that he is not expected to perform above a certain level.

In their telling work, Pygmalion in the Classroom (1968), Rosenthal and Jacobson show convincingly the crucial effect of teacher expectations upon pupil performance. Initially, in a now famous experiment with mice, they found that randomly chosen mice learned mazes more quickly when

their human trainers were made to believe that they were genetically bred for superior maze learning. The mice whose trainers believed them to be genetically bred for slowness performed with a corresponding lack of speed. There was no objective difference between the two groups of mice.

It follows that children, far more alert to teacher cues than mice, should be equally susceptible to positive or negative teacher attitudes. The validity of this assumption was borne out in experiments conducted by Rosenthal and Jacobson at Oak School (pseudonym) in 1964 and 1965. They found that randomly chosen students, designated to teachers as potential "spurters" or "late bloomers," supposedly on the basis of IQ tests, showed an objective gain in performance in future testing. Specifically, "In the year of the experiment, the undesignated control group of children gained over 8 IQ points, while the experimental group children, the 'special' children, gained over 12 [points]." It was also found that "in total IQ, verbal IQ, children of the minority group were more advantaged by favorable expectations than were the other children." (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968, as quoted in Goodman, 1969). .Though the minority group was, in this case, Mexican-American children, the applicability of these findings to any minority group children is probably possible.

One would hardly be surprised, therefore, if Joe and John lose their enthusiasm and simply fulfill the teacher's low expectations.

5) While the "fast" group in Miss A.'s class were reading by a "contextual" method which relied upon strings of letters and words to convey meaning, the "slow" group used a "phonetic", or letter-by-letter, approach to reading. This reading method is supposed to be more suitable to "non-conceptual" or "cognitively deprived" students, according to the adherents of these theories cited earlier.

However, in his perceptive article, "The Psycholinguistic Universals in the Reading Process," Kenneth Goodman (1969) effectively refutes this hypothesis. Goodman argues essentially that reading involves not a single

cognitive process but numerous cues. These include contextual cues (general subject matter), semantic cues (word order), and syntactic cues (word structure or phonemics). For example, if the subject of a paragraph were weather, and other words such as "grey," "wet," and "cold," were included, one might be able to infer that an unfamiliar four-letter word beginning with "r" was "rain," from contextual cues. If the word were followed by the word "fell," one could infer from syntax that "rain" was the word in question. Were the child unable to use cues such as these, he might try sounding out the word phonetically, or use a combination of all three techniques.

From this brief description of some of the cognitive processes involved in reading, one can easily see that greater intellectual skill would be required of the child who was expected to read by relying on only one set of cues. Such was the intellectual task placed before these two "slow" readers.

In addition, as Goodman aptly points out, such systems tend to defeat the purpose of reading which, ultimately, is comprehension. For in such a system, meaning is sacrificed to orthography, and many of the other useful keys to meaning are overlooked. In Goodman's words:

> In fact, in my research I have encountered many youngsters so busy matching letters to sounds and matching word shapes that they have no sense of the meaning of what they are reading. Reading requires not so much skills as strategies that make it possible to select the most productive cues. (Goodman, 1969, p. 7)

6) Although all of the students were only beginning readers, Miss A. had concluded that the supposedly "non-literate" backgrounds of the black students put them at a competitive disadvantage with white ones. But, as we have noted, there was noticeable unevenness of ability in the "fast" group, combined with liberal answer-swapping. The added fun and stimulation of participating in a group was by no means lost on the two isolated boys. When they did attempt to undertake group work on their own, and an enthusiastic disagreement caused their voices to be raised, they were obliged to abandon

this evidently intellectually stimulating group enterprise. Order was, it seemed, more important than involvement.

7) That Joe and John began rock-throwing is not surprising. It was perhaps the only way, given the arbitrary structuring of the groups, that they could enter into a relationship with the other members of the class. Some of the frustration, alienation, or isolation these students felt was probably relieved thereby. But these students will undoubtedly be labeled "discipline problems" on the scholastic record which will follow them throughout their academic lives.

One can imagine as well the racial stereotypes generated in the minds of both groups of children as a result of this apparently rather arbitrary grouping system.

The second Berkeley public school visited was an integrated school of grades four through six. We will call the teacher whose classroom we visited Mrs. B. Mrs. B.'s classroom was a combination of students from grades four through six. Racially, her approximately 20 students included 8 whites and 2 Chicanos, while the remainder were black. The desks are set up in groups of four in a circular fashion around the room. After reading and discussing a passage from Nat Hentoff's Jazz Country, the children played a spelling game on the day of our visit. The game proceeded as follows:

> Mrs. B. would call out a word from the spelling list. She would ask one of the children in one of the groups of desks, which she referred to as "families," to rise and spell the word. The trick, however, was to voice only the consonants and to convey the vowels with a pre-established sign language (pointing to the eye for "i", for example). With great rooting, and urging to succeed from the other members of his "family," the selected person would go through all of the required vowels and consonants, gesturing and calling letters. If this student

was unsuccessful, another member of the "family" was called upon, to restore the "family name," it seemed. At the end, the total scores of the families, not the individuals, were tallied. The children of all races appeared wholly engrossed in the game. One sixth grade girl was knitting as the game proceeded, but when called upon, she spelled her word without difficulty.

In observing Mrs. B.'s classroom, we were struck by some of the following:

1) Although the students had to perform individually, they were performing in cooperation with, rather than in opposition to, the rest of the members of their "family." One could almost feel the supportive influence of the rest of the members of his group. For if none of the "family" successfully spelled the word, it was passed on to another anxiously awaiting "family." There was therefore the supportive influence of the group in addition to the stimulating opposition of the competing groups.

Such an arrangement approximates more closely the peer-group and group-solidarity-oriented play groups to which many lower-class black children have been acculturized.

2) There was little direct hierarchical exchange between teacher and child. The child's primary reference group is his "family," and, by opposition, the other families. Such an arrangement seems to approximate more closely the "social relations" which, as we have seen eariler, black children have been socialized into. Observation from our work with the group of Richmond girls mentioned earlier may serve to further substantiate this point. These girls all live together in the "projects" a short distance from the school. Most have been together for at least the past three years, and some for longer. We attempted a project with the girls in which each was asked to create a caption for pictures that they had cut and pasted from various magazines. Two of the girls in particular produced what one of the researchers thought to be a particularly ingenious caption. The researcher

therefore proceeded to praise both girls enthusiastically. However, she realized immediately that this was a mistake. One of the complimented girls began to deride her work to the hearing of all the group. One of the other girls, who had not been complimented, began to complain that she couldn't think of anything else and wanted to quit. Both statements, we realized, were attempts to restore the group equilibrium which our compliments had upset. One child, in renouncing her expertise, showed that she was not attempting to "outsmart" the group; the other attempted to show scorn for the whole exercise which had threatened this group unity. Previous to this indiscreet (though justified) flattery, the girls had been working along diligently.

This same group of girls was marvelously cooperative and greatly enjoyed putting together squares to make a quilt. It seemed that this activity, while it required individual effort and skill, seemed to give the girls the satisfaction of feeling that they were working with each other rather than in opposition to one another. We did give the girls an occasional individual compliment, which they seemed to welcome, but always very discreetly, so as to avoid the "drama" described above.

Herbert Kohl, in his Thirty-Six Children, cites a similar situation in recounting an encounter with a black sixth-grade girl in his classroom. While this girl would stutter and miss words when asked to do oral reading with the class, she would volunteer to read to him from any book on his desk when the rest of the class was otherwise occupied. While some were far more difficult than her own reader, she read to him with fluent ease. It is obvious that this child's strong sense of peer-group solidarity led her to hide her expertise. Teachers who are unaware of this cultural phenomenon may underestimate or ostracize their black pupils who fail to show the competitive, individualistic instinct valued by white, middle-class society.

3) This spelling game, unlike the reading exercises described earlier, allowed the students to move and gesture, utilizing their motor as well as their intellectual skills.

In working with the group of girls in Richmond described earlier, we discovered that they possessed an unusual amount of motor skill and energy. Any activity, it seemed,which allowed them to somehow combine their intellectual and motor abilities, seemed more likely to be well-received.

One of the researchers tutored a seven-year old black girl after school. She too observed that the child became far more involved when an activity allowed her to use her body as well as her mind. She enjoyed, for example, writing words on the blackboard. She was also more attentive when her reading sessions were interspersed with moments of brisk physical activity.

We do not mean to imply that motor or physically oriented activities should replace intellectual ones. We mean only to suggest that the particularly well-developed sense of motor control , which many of the black children we observed seem to possess, should be utilized in the classroom. For example, a reading lesson could be devised involving not only reading silently and orally, but also acting out the situations or characters described. Spelling in sign language, which was employed to some extent by Mrs. B., could be used more extensively to incorporate physical activites into mental ones.

The third and final pair of classrooms with which we will deal offer a rich, although randomly selected, set of comparisons and contrasts. Because these classrooms exemplify the best and worst elements in many of the other classrooms we visited, we will bypass describing the remaining classrooms in order to focus upon these two; they are representative, we feel, of two fundamentally different outlooks and methods of teaching. They consequently subsume many of the commentaries which might be made on the other classrooms. We will examine these classrooms in terms of the teacher's attitude and the classroom structure.

Superficially, there were a number of similarities between the first grade classroom of Teacher 1 and the second grade one of Teacher 2, whose portable classrooms were adjacent to one another on the school play yard. Both teachers were of approximately the same age. Their classrooms were modeled essentially upon that of the "open" classroom model, in which various "activity stations" are set up in the classroom, and students are free to choose among them. Both classrooms were also "Follow Through" classrooms, a special government-funded program which provides selected classrooms with the most advanced teaching and visual aids, including tape recorders, video tape and photography equipment. Children from divergent social and racial backgrounds are deliberately placed together. In addition, the teacher is encouraged to experiment with modern teaching techniques, especially those allowing the pupils greater personal freedom. In talking with and observing the two teachers in action, we noted profound differences in their attitudes towards their profession and pupils. We shall consider each of these teachers and their classrooms in turn.

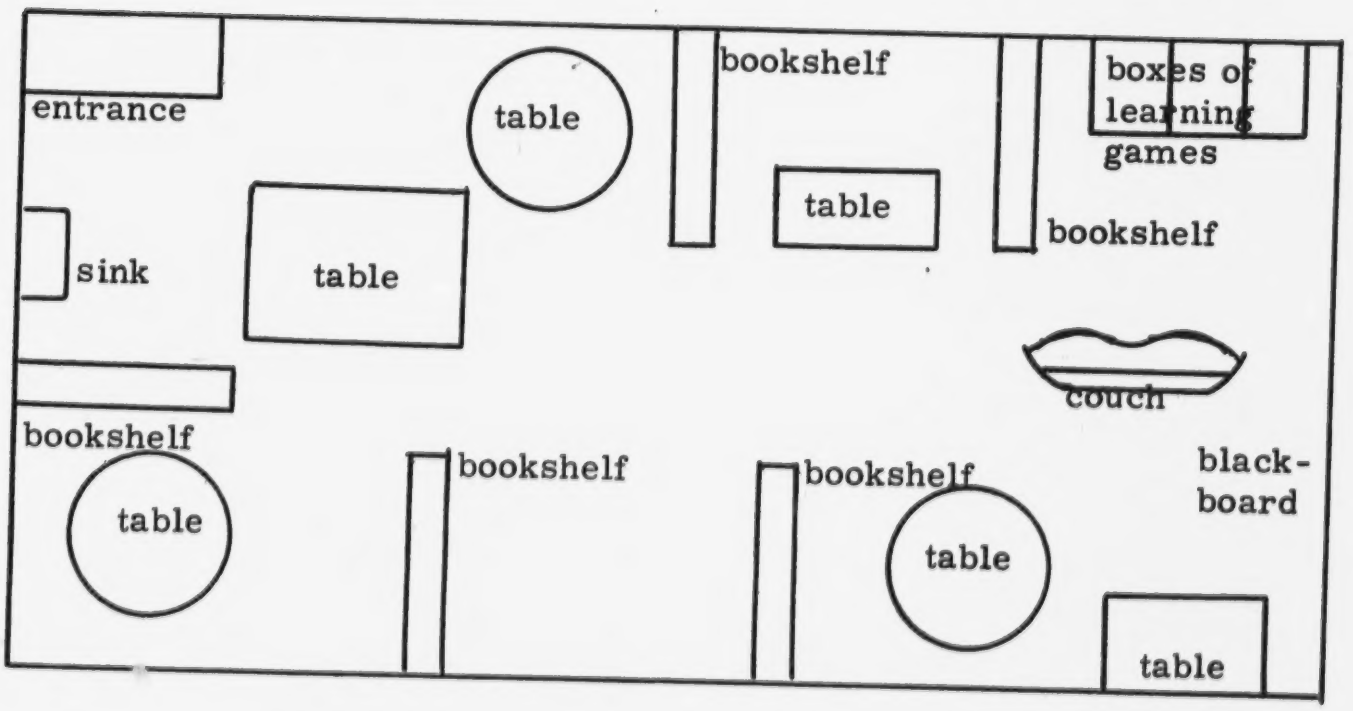
Teacher No. 1

Teacher 1 is a woman of a pleasant, athletic appearance in her early forties. Her manner is tired, restrained and somewhat preoccupied, but congenial. She seemed to find her work very trying, citing the chronic presence of visitors, the extreme discrepancy in economic backgrounds of her students, the large percentage of functional non-readers, and the frequent absence of her teacher aides (and the subsequent need for substitutes) as sources of difficulty.

Her Follow-Through, second-grade classroom set up is essentially that of the "open classroom": There are a number of tables set up for various activities; the children do not have assigned seats; the students work with non-professional teacher aides and parent helpers as well as the regular teacher. The physical lay out of her classroom is very similar to that pictured below (actually Teacher 2's classroom).

Despite the "open" appearance of her classroom, Teacher 1's approach to scholastic studies such as reading, spelling, and math is fairly conventional. She employs the standard work books, readers, and spellers. Reading and spelling lessons are given in oral, round-table form, as are grammar lessons. In math, the students were sometimes paired to help one another. Because her white students are generally of middle-class and upper-class backgrounds, they were generally paired with black children of working class backgrounds. However, a great deal of supervision seemed to be necessary to prevent the children from loafing. In one case, a white child appeared disinterested and bored and a black child confused and disoriented but hesitant to seek aid from her distracted peer. In another case, two little girls of similarly discrepant backgrounds appeared to be working together in a harmonious, sisterly fashion. However, the stereotypes generated in the minds of the students as a result of this pairing can easily be surmised.

Two white girl students whom Teacher 1 singled out as exceptional readers (fifth-grade SRA level readers) wandered aimlessly about the room. One finally began to flip through a magazine disinterestedly while the other students struggled with the second-grade text at another table.



Teacher No. 2

Teacher 2 is a tall, attractive woman in her early forties. Her enthusiastic, "little-girlish" manner, however, gives her the appearance of being somewhat younger. She stated that she enjoys her work and hates to miss a day. She said also that she is gratified to see the way her students appear to enjoy school, and expressed pride in the fact that all of her first-grade Follow-Through students were reading.

Her classroom set up is diagrammed above. The classroom appears at first glance to be noisy and mildly disorderly. There are generally several visitors (as with Teacher 1), in addition to a couple of parents and a teacher aide who assist her in instructing. Every table is humming with activity, some adult supervised, some student directed. In general, Teacher 2 leads off the "game" (all exercises are referred to as games, and generally take this form), departs to direct another group or individual, and checks occasionally to see that all is well. At the different tables, an assistant or the teacher herself will instruct one child individually for several moments. The child will then be told that his or her turn is over, and told to join one of the other groups (of his choosing) while another child requiring such aid is invited to "play." The "games" include the use of picture cards, blocks, and colorful plastic letters. Occasionally advanced second-grade students are employed to instruct these first-graders. A black second-grade girl and black first-grade slow reader were paired. The girl, who was reported to have a poor self-concept by her teacher, was proud of her authority, and the boy appeared to respond with interest (if not submission) to this near peer (see Episode 2). One of the "advanced" readers from Teacher 1's class lead a word game of mixed children on another day.

Unlike Teacher 1's class where students eagerly rushed to recess (and one expressed the desire to go home), children frequently request to continue their word "games" through recess. They are generally allowed to do so, and are permitted to take a later recess break.

While Teachers 1 and 2 are of approximately the same age and have similar classroom set ups, their teaching styles are markedly different. While Teacher 1 is gentle and patient with her students, her voice is generally monotone and her facial expression rarely changes. Teacher 2's voice is enthusiastic (perhaps exaggeratedly so to an adult ear) and her facial expression generally mirthful. Unlike Teacher 1's hierarchical, group-reading approach, Teacher 2 (with only one additional assistant in her slightly larger class) generally works with the students individually. "Do you want to play a game with me?", she generally inquires. The child has the option of refusing, but most join in one of the other "games" or some other constructive individual activity.

At each of the several tables in both classrooms there were teacher aids or self-instructing activities such as story-telling earphone sets, a sewing table, and a reading corner. In theory, the children in both classrooms were free to change activities, as long as they completed certain basic requirements within a given time period. However, in practice, the tables in Teacher 1's classroom were actually used to accommodate the various "ability" groupings in reading. During the reading period of approximately forty-five minutes, the majority of the students were thus obliged to work with either the teacher or one of her reading assistants. The only exceptions were the two girls mentioned above whom she singled out to me as being "advanced" readers. At each table in Teacher 1's class, there were thus approximately eight to ten students working with a teacher aide, according to their ability level during the reading period.

In Teacher 2's classroom, on the other hand, the children had a genuinely "open" classroom setting in which to work. At each of the various tables a teaching assistant was involved with a different activity. For example, during one classroom period the following activities were in progress:

1) At the table nearest the door, a man approaching middle age who Teacher 2 informed us is the father of one of the girls, is leading a word-game

exercise. Before him is a fishbowl filled with colored paper fish, upon which words of varying levels of difficulty are written. The children (about seven) pick a paper fish from the bowl. If they can read the word written thereon, they get to keep the fish. If they cannot, it is returned to the bowl. The children were busily tallying the number of "fish" in their "schools" and naming them "sharks," "whales," etc. The recess bell rang, but several of the girls requested permission to stay inside, and were permitted to take a late recess period when the "game" was over.

2) At a sofa in the far corner, a middle-aged woman who was a volunteer was having an individual "reading" session with a black boy, with whom she said she had worked with since the year before. At the "head" of the classroom, by the blackboard, Teacher 2 was leading a lively word-game in which one team read the word which she placed on the board, then provided her with another word beginning with the last letter or sound as the given word. She eventually turned the leadership of the game over to a second-grade girl who was recognized as being one of the readers whom Teacher 1 had singled out to me as being advanced. Teacher 2 informed us that she often used pupils from her own and other classrooms who were ahead in their own work. There were approximately ten students in this group. At another table, a parent was going through a science experiment on making a dry-cell battery in an area adjacent to the word game. To her right was a sewing table, at which some of the children were involved in making cloth puppets. At a center table, a mother (who had brought her three-year-old son along) was going through pictured phonetic cards with a black girl. Teacher 2 herself had meanwhile moved to the center table to play a "math-reasoning" game with another black girl. Though the noise level in the classroom was high, the children in each of the activity groups appeared too absorbed to notice it.

3) While in Teacher 1's class a period of "free activity" is announced after a period of assigned, structured exercise, Teacher 2's classroom, as

we have seen, appears to be a constant flow of "free activities," or learning games. When the child tires of one "game," he is free to join any of the other "games" in progress in the room. Teacher 2 informed us that she checks the children's work to see what subjects need emphasizing and invites them to "play" with her on that basis, or to join groups which emphasize those subjects. They are otherwise free to choose.

On the basis of some of the comments we have made earlier, it is not hard to imagine which classroom arrangement and teacher attitude would be most likely to evoke a positive response from the black students of lower-class economic origins. But one also notes that ultimately the teacher's attitude towards her profession and her pupils appears to have a greater impact on the pupil's attitude and performance than any of the other environmental or structural aspects of the classroom setting. It would therefore seem essential that teacher-training programs include courses intended to give prospective teachers an increased understanding and appreciation of black culture, for they, as well as their black pupils, would undoubtedly benefit from these enlightened teacher attitudes.

Transcriptions

It may now be useful to analyze and compare teacher-pupil encounters taken from transcripts of the tapes made in the latter two classrooms which we have discussed. While in some of the encounters from which we have taken brief episodes, the goal of the teachers was similar but the differences in style and method are significant. Names are abbreviated or changed throughout.

Episode 1: Teacher 1

Subject: Spelling and proper names.

Materials and setting: There are seven students in the group, seated around a square table. All of the students are girls--one is Chicano, one white, and the rest black. The standard phonics workbook is being used.

Transcription: (T=Teacher, C=Child)

T (in an unchanging tone of voice): How do you spell Ann?

C_1 A-N-N.

T (in same tone throughout): How do you say the 'A'?

C_1 (silence)

T J., do you want to help her?

C_1 The letter's capital A.

T Capital A-N-N. Why do we say capital?

C_1 Because capital means that it is...

T (interrupting): Why would we put a capital 'A' on the Ann, E.?

C_2 Because it's someone's name.

T It's the name of somebody, I., so we make it special.

C_2 --a girl.

T Do you see any other name there, I., that you know?

C_3 (interrupting, excitedly): I see a name, a 'Ben'...

T --any other name, let's let I. find it. You see a name there that you know?

C (mumbling, indistinguishable)

T All right, 'Ken.' That's right. How do you spell Ken -- Don't forget what you do to that first letter -- How do you spell Ken?

C_4 Where's it? -- Oh. Key-C-K-E--er...

T T., I.'s spelling it...

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Episode 1: Teacher 2

Subject: Reading assignment from first-grade reader.

Materials and Setting: Two black children, a second-grade girl and a first-grade boy, are going over the latter's reading lesson, having been "paired" by Teacher 2 because the boy's reading needed work.

Transcription: (G=girl, B=boy)

G What's the name of this?

B (reading) 'Someday.'

G 'Someday...'

B 'Someday...Someday...I...will...be'

G (correcting 'Have...'

B 'Have a...'

G 'Truck.'

B 'Truck. People come...'

G 'Will.'

B 'Will...'

G 'What's the lady doin?'

B What?

G Tellin' the people to stop. (laughter)

B What?--What lady's tellin' the people to stop?

G Is that the lady...?

B She' wavin', girl. She -- she wavin' to her.

(Brief pause as they study the picture.)

B Golly!

G You ain' got it!

B Come on... (reading) 'People...come...'

G Well, she's tellin' him to stop.

G Oh!

G An' he's... wavin' at one'a those.

B (interrupting loudly and excitedly) That's theirs!

G I know, but she's tellin' him--them--to stop, and he's wavin' at these ... cars. Her ... him-- Read on! (reading) 'Cars...'

B 'Cars. People come to cars. Cars...'

G 'Will.'

B 'Cars will stay...'

G (correcting with laughter) 'stop'

B 'stop'

. . . . . .

G You almost finish?

B Unh, uh, I'll show you what else I gotta read!

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Episode 3: Teacher 1

Subject: Announcement of an upcoming assembly.

Materials and Setting: Teacher 1 is before a group of children who are sitting cross-legged on the floor, or standing about as they return from recess.

Transcription: (T=teacher, C=child)

T P., I'd like you to look this way while I'm talking.

C (various indistinguishable voices)

T Before we choose our free activity -- Ida! Joan! Before we choose our free activity to do today, I want to tell you that after lunch, we're having a bagpipe marching band come to school. Have you ever seen bagpipes?

C Uh huh. Yeah. Um, they make a lot of noise.

T They do make a lot of noise. It's a different kind of music, and sometimes when music is different it seems really strange to you.

C It's Scottish music.

T I like bagpipes. It's Scottish music, that's right, well . . . from Scotland. Now. Let me just read you what has been given to us. The . . . the band --L., are you listening? A.! The band is going to perform on the lower yard, which is the yard that's down there [by] the, uh, building. Now, uh, could Ann stand with you, please, Tobe? (note: Tobe is a teacher aide)

T-A Yeah.

T This is for about a week she's been having a little bit of trouble listening. (Undistinguishable) Uh, find a place to watch the parade down in the lower yard. Now, we're not going to stay together. We're

going to try a different thing. The whole school is... so you can just find a place at the edge of the yard, the lower yard, to watch. And this is going to be right after lunch. When the bell rings, you don't come here to the room. You go right to a place that you've found that you wanta watch the marching band. J., I'm sure your class will be going, too.

C This is your classroom.

T J. ... This is J.'s classroom (undistinguishable). I'm sure Miss A. will be out there too, so when the bell rings, you go.
(phone rings)

C (babbling noises)

T What are some things maybe that we should talk about? How do you watch a parade?

C (various scattered voices) Sit down ... and be quiet.

T Not necessarily, a parade. (slight laugh) You don't sit down and be quiet. That's, tha's how you do when you go to a concert. You sit down quietly when you're inside a building. But this is a little different.

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Episode 4: Teacher 2

Subject: Announcement of an upcoming assembly.

Materials and Setting: Teacher is addressing class, which is returning from recess, and begins printing rapidly on the blackboard. (The first part of the message read, "We have to go to the cafeteria immediately. (Don't talk, read.) The noisy people will not be allowed in the auditorium. We have to go in a straight line!")

Transcription: (T=teacher, C=child, V=various voices)

T Carol is ready, Jack is ready, Michael Morse is ready...
(rapidly, as though excited) It has to be a quick meeting, it's almost an emergency, kind of. S. is ready. (Begins writing, as children read aloud)

V 'We..have..to..go..to..the..can--fa..'

C_1 Yaah..l-l-lunch.

C_2 That doesn't say lunch.

C_3 Concert?

C_4 Concert? No-o-o-...

C_5 Cafeteria immediately!

V 'Don't talk...read!'

C_6 'Don't talk'

C_7 'Read!'

C_8 'The n-noise...'

C_9 'The noisy people...'

C_{10} 'will...n-not'

V (various sounding attempts)

T 'Allowed'

V 'In the cafeteria'

C_{12} 'Caf-re-teria'

C_{13} No! No! and auditorium

C_{14} Ad-re-torium?

V We..we..we..have to go..go..in a striaght...

(Following this announcement, the children were lined up as follows:)

T All people whose names begin like donkey, line up next. If your name begins like m-money, you're next. Money. If your name begins like vegetable, you're next. Vegetable.

C_{14} V--Vanessa!

T If your name begins like bubble, you're next. Bubble.

C_{15} Bubble--B.

T Bubble. If your name begins like, uh--Jello, you're next.

C (Indistinguishable)

T If your name begins like 'Annie-get-your-gun' (laughing)...
If your name begins like fossil...If your name begins like humor...

C Humerer!?!

T Uh, huh. If your name begins like kitchen. If your name begins like egg. If your name begins like popcorn, and if your name begins like Snickers ...

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Analysis and Comparison of Transcribed Interactions

In the first episode, we note that the relationship between the pupil and the teacher is wholly hierarchical. The teacher directs and determines the course of the exercise, and the children can respond only, not innovate. For example, when C_3 interrupts enthusiastically, "I see a name, a 'Ben'," she is not permitted to enter into the exchange between Teacher 1 and her chosen respondent. "Let's let I. find it," continues Teacher 1, without picking up on the child's enthusiasm or attempting to open the exercise into a group enterprise. This pattern is consistent throughout the tape, and one can see it in the latter part of this episode as well. For when C_4 breaks into a spontaneous effort to spell the word "Ken," her effort is not recognized or commended: "I.'s spelling it," she is reminded.

We also note that in this interaction, no lateral exchanges between peers are expected. Out of boredom, the children initiate some side conversations on other portions of the tape. However, just as with the spontaneous reactions and remarks, these comments are not incorporated into the lesson. Another brief section from the transcription may serve to illustrate this point:

T That's your middle name? Your last name is P. ... Now 'I.'

C_1 I can't write my middle name, 'cause my middle name is Dorla.

T Is what?

C_1 My middle name is Dorla.

T It's Dora?

C_1 No, Dorla.

T Dorla, that's a pretty name.

C_2 Dorla?

T And what's your middle name, J.?

C_2 (mimicking) Dorla?

C_3 Lou.

T How do you spell Lou? That's a good one. L-O-U. Can you spell Ida, L-O-U?

C_2 Hey, you got a boyfriend on 'Little Rascals.' (mimicking) 'Dorla, I love you.'

T Do you spell...

C_2 Hi, Dorla!

T Dorla is spelled D -- capital D-O-R-L-A, Dorla.

C Hey, Ann got a boyfriend name -- um, name uh --

C_1 I do not, huh!

C_2 (in falsetto, mockingly sweet voice) 'Dorla, I love you. You're my hero. You saved me from the water.' (laughter) (normal voice) You're not a hero.

C_4 (Remember the one) about a baby?

T When did you get the word, Lou?

C_3 Oh, my daddy's middle name is Lou.

C_2 I hate Alfalfa.

T Joan, Joan Lou Banks. On page 2, Tonia.

C_5 Hey, look it!

T Tonia!

C_5 Ok, what?

****

As one can see, the teacher plods along with the assigned task, never acknowledging these digressions except to try to stop them at the end. These could have been artfully woven into the lesson, turning the side chatter into a group discussion. For example, she could have asked them for the spelling

of the names of other "Little Rascals" characters. It is also interesting to note that the "Little Rascals" T. V. program which the children mention is, for all of its defects and stereotyping, one of the few in which any black children are depicted. The children who refer to it are undoubtedly trying to bring in something that they can identify with. By bringing in something "real" from their background, the children were trying to give this wholly a-contextual exercise meaning.

We also note that the teacher uses a didactic interrogation approach to procure responses from the students. Her tone of voice is almost unchanging, and is in fact very much that of the detached, formal social worker at an interview. Her questions follow a pattern which shows little variation. They are to find a familiar name, spell it (remembering the capital) and tell her why it is capitalized.

Although this wholly hierarchical, interrogative approach is seemingly broken when she asks "J., do you want to help her?", such is not the case. For this question is merely a stylistic device for changing the object of the interrogation when the first one has been too slow. We notice that the children understand this code, and do not offer one another further hints and clues, but proceed to spell the word by themselves.

In contrast to this procedure, Episode 2 is by its very nature a later, peer-directed enterprise, rather than hierarchically adult-directed. Teacher 2 had evidently discovered the effectiveness of inter-peer instruction and therefore permitted the older child to instruct the younger. The threatening adult-child confrontation is therefore avoided. In addition, as we have hypothesized, it is this type of social relationship which black children are most often socialized and acculturated into. Therefore, unlike the previous example, the exercise begins with the appropriate social relationships between teacher and child, which Labov refers to.

In addition, the "teaching" child undoubtedly enjoys the sense of authority her new role gives her, and benefits herself from the exercise as well.

We also note, in considering the content of the exchange, that the boy is relying heavily upon contextual cues, as indeed his "teacher" encourages him to do. For example, because people are shown walking in the much disputed illustration in his book, he reads "people came," which his "teacher" corrects as "people will." There is obviously no phonetic correlation between "will" and "come." However, as we saw in the above-cited work by Goodman, there are a variety of cues, contextual as well as phonetic, upon which a reader can and should rely. But according to those who would label this child as "culturally" or "cognitively" deprived, such contextual abstraction is beyond his mental scope. According to such, he can gradually build up to this level of abstraction through the phonics method.

When, toward the end of the episode, he reads "stay" for "stop," he is again evidently relying on a combination of phonetic and contextual cues.

We also note that the "teacher" in this episode, despite her youth, makes a skillful effort to give the child contextual cues by referring to the picture in the book. "What's the lady doin'?" she asks, for she has no preconceived notions about the child's abilities to infer, and realizes, perhaps from her own preferences, that referring to something "real" (the picture) will make the exercise more meaningful.

Once their discussion of the picture has opened, the "pupil" is free to continue the discussion, or to disagree, even loudly, with the "teacher." His level of involvement increases to such an extent that his voice is raised. In the traditional, hierarchical student-teacher encounter, this burst of enthusiasm would have been reprimanded. We, in fact, saw an example of this in Teacher 1's scolding of Joe and John for raising their voices. But even this "teacher's" command to "read on" is more an indication that the debate has reached a stalemate than an inviolable command.

We also note that the children employ code-switching (see Gumperz, 1970) throughout the encounter. In the opening sentences of the episode, when all is calm, the contracted copula of the verb <u>to be</u> is employed thus:

"What's the name of this?" or "What's the lady doin'?" However, as the excitement mounts, the youngster deletes the copula altogether, hence: "She wavin', girl!" The "teacher," who previously had been using rather "standard" English, shortly thereafter taunts, "you ain' got it!"

However, they both revert to including the copulas throughout the remainder of the exercise. But we notice that despite the fact that both of the children use some black forms, such as deletion of endings, these do not appear to interfere with the girl's ability to "decode" the printed page for her 'pupil.'

That the 'teacher's' relevant 'digressions' have paid off is evident in the last sentences of the encounter, for the child is not ready to quit when told that he is nearly through. He protests, saying, "Unh, uh, I'll show you what else I gotta read!" For his "teacher," unlike the previous one in Episode 1, not only established a correct structural relationship with him, but attempted to apply her instruction to other relevant objects and cues.

Episodes 3 and 4 afford more direct parallels and show the critical effect that teaching style has in pupil response. Teacher 1's approach is, again, largely hierarchical, while Teacher 2's is peer-oriented. For example, in attempting to bring the class to order, Teacher 1 cites "offenders:" "Ida! Joan!". That this technique is not effective is indicated by the fact that she is finally obliged to request that the teacher aide assume responsibility for one of the children: "Could Ann stand with you, please, Tobe?" she asks. However, Teacher 2 uses the more positive approach of saying "Carol...Jack...are ready." This approach not only gives the students the incentive to be "recognized" by their good behavior, but also makes them feel the necessity of not holding up the group. The children respond readily to this technique and the announcement follows immediately.

Teacher 1 begins her announcement with the flat, matter-of-fact statement, "I want to tell you," and continues with "let me just read you...." which firmly establishes the authority hierarchy between pupil and child. The

children's few incidental remarks are not used to turn the announcement into an open discussion or mutual exchange. They are merely worked into her own sentences as she proceeds with the announcement.

On the other hand, Teacher 2 breaks into the announcement as though something exciting and new were about to happen. She simulates a breathless, hurried manner, and uses words like "emergency meeting" to heighten the expectations of the children.

Instead of reading the bulletin, Teacher 2 writes it out, one word at a time, as the children read. In their eagerness to decode the message, these first-grade children read words such as "cafeteria," "auditorium," and "noisy," which are considered to be above their grade level. They rely on teacher aid only once (for the word "allowed"), and then only after having first made the attempt themselves. Thus reading became an exciting and functional task. It is not something one does merely to please the teacher, but to further one's own understanding. This contrasts with Teacher 1's class, in which the children, when asked how to conduct themselves at a parade, reply with what they think "teacher" wants to hear: "Sit down and be quiet." (Episode 4)

As one can see, even in this brief section of the transcript, the children rely largely upon their peers, not the teacher. For it is with each other and not Teacher 2 that they debate over the pronunciation of the words. There is thus not the overwhelming, authoritative presence of the teacher to thwart this peer-group interaction.

Even in her manner of lining the children up, Teacher 2 attempts to make their reading skills an integral and functional part of their activities. They must match the sounds of the given words with their names to know when to line up. Such techniques would probably be most effective for children from backgrounds of scarce economic means in which pragmatism and practicality are particularly stressed as necessities for survival.

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